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The pips of the Rocky Mountain rose, *Rosa californica* C. & S., var. *ultramontana* Wats., (skukuwi'lpᵉ), which were present in abundance, and which could be gathered in the winter since they remained on the bushes during that season, became an important food in times of famine. They were not eaten otherwise.

Pieces of hide, cut from old clothing or robes, could be rendered edible by roasting over the fire until very crisp. Salmon skins were held near the fire until softened, and eaten. In the spring, after a long hard winter which had depleted the food supply, it was customary to watch the backwater pools of the Columbia for the first steelhead. As soon as one was seen to jump a basket would be filled with water from the pool and carried to camp. The person bringing it called the villagers together and said, "Here, have some of my salmon soup." All partook with ceremonial gravity.

Two severe famines are recalled by every Sanpoil. Both were caused indirectly by unusual natural phenomena. The earlier catastrophe was a heavy fall of volcanic dust which occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth or the early part of the nineteenth century.[5] The second was a severe earthquake which came in November, 1873.[6] In both cases all the usual economic pursuits were forsaken in the face of the strange and unaccountable happenings and the time was given over to praying. When winter came insufficient food had been stored and suffering resulted. Burke described the happenings as follows:

> When my grandmother was a small girl a heavy rain of white ashes fell. The people called it snow. After they got wheat flour they said it was just like that. The ashes fell several inches deep all along the Columbia and far on both sides. Everybody was so badly scared that the whole summer was spent in praying. The people even danced—something they never did except in winter. They didn't gather any food but what they had to have to live on. That winter many people starved to death. Besides that an epidemic of smallpox(?) killed a lot of people. And the next spring some warriors from the south came and killed still more.
>
> When starvation was worst people even ate the flesh of their dead neighbors. Other people picked up prairie chicken droppings and made soup with them.
>
> A big earthquake came when my mother was a girl. It was worst around Lake Chelan but it was very bad all over our country. It first came about midnight. Cracks opened up in some of the underground houses and they filled with water. The people crowded together in the houses that were left whole and prayed. Some of the people knew Catholic prayers and they said them over and over. Some people went crazy. They ran around the hills tearing off their clothes and finally dying. Most of the winter food had been gotten in but not all and in the spring people went hungry. But it wasn't as bad as the ash storm.

[5] There is considerable disagreement among natives as to the date of this event. Reckoning is in terms of the approximate ages of various ancestors at the time of the occurrence. Teit's informant placed the date at 1770 (Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, page 291), but all of my informants agreed that it was after the turn of the century.

[6] This date is quite certain. There is official record of but one major earthquake in this region. The exact time was November 22, 1873. The quake was classed by Holden as "extremely severe" and was rated VIII on the Rossi-Forel scale (Holden, *A Catalogue of Earthquakes*, pages 96-97).

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159 753 846 Burke was once fishing with Johnny Herman (sxoqomi'x). Herman dipped up a muskrat with his net. He killed it with the blow of a club. The next day the head and face of his newly born infant swelled up so much that it was unable to open its eyes. Herman painted the child's face with red paint applied with a skunk tail brush. The eyebrows, cheeks and upper and lower lips were covered with paint. The child very soon returned to normal.

The above anecdote illustrates one of the methods used to counteract the effects resulting from non-observance of post-natal customs or breaking of tabus connected with the child. Another remedy was to build a smudge and hold the baby over it, allowing it to inhale some of the smoke.

784 846 For a week after the child's arrival the mother spent most of the time resting and avoided hard work for at least a month. During the first week she was not allowed to do any cooking for the food would be contaminated because she was still losing blood. She was not permitted to pass in front of any man at close range but she could walk directly behind. She must not stay so near a fire that she would perspire (a precaution against hemorrhage). For ten days she ate no meat. Twice each day for a month the mother drank a tonic (enukutkutunawi'ux-ten). This was to assist her in regaining her strength and to insure against contraction of tuberculosis which was supposed often to start with childbirth. For a month she did not bathe and slept apart from her husband. At the end of that of that period she bathed thoroughly and took up once more the normal routine of life, modified of course by the presence of the new child. An informal feast followed the birth of the first child.[4]

From the time of birth to ten days of age the child was kept wrapped tightly with the arms at the sides and the legs extended. The head binding continued for a like period. During the daytime the child lay on its mother's bedding; at night it slept beside her. Whenever the child cried it was nursed. If it cried excessively red pigment mixed with grease was applied to its face with the tail of a skunk, as above. Or the dried heart of a fool hen was sewed inside a buckskin bag and fastened to the child's wrappings at the shoulder or near the back of the head. The fool hen was considered a model of silence. The skunk's tail used for painting was likewise fastened to the wrappings and later to the cradle.

853 If the mother's milk failed to flow she was given hot soups or broths made from meat or fowl, and pine needles were heated and placed on her breasts. If the appearance of the milk was retarded for any length of time some other woman acted temporarily as wet nurse. The child was returned to its mother as soon as she was able to nourish it properly. When a baby's mother died at the time of its birth it was taken by some woman, not necessarily a relative, who could nurse it. The adoption was for the nursing period only. At the end of that time it was returned to the grandparents. Children were nursed for an average of perhaps two years. The child was not always removed from the cradle for nursing.

848 Permanent relinquishment shortly after birth of a child born out of wedlock was the usual solution for such a situation. Any married woman in the group was

[4] See page 141.

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was to deposit the object he had brought in the designated spot. Unless he had been given further directions he wandered around aimlessly, built a fire to keep warm or lay down to sleep. Burke said that the command to stay awake all night was often broken. Nor were specific directions always carried out. Those who were told to dive often became scared upon seeing the reflection of the stars in the water. Those ordered to play the stick game more often followed the directions but usually quit before long, or fell asleep. Running and shouting was not expected of the seeker. It was better to sit still and wait for a spirit to appear, than to call or pray. When too actively sought, spirits seldom came. In view of these beliefs it is easy to understand why sleeping out the night was common. The spirit seeker started back with the first rays of dawn. Upon reaching camp he said nothing to anyone but went about his usual pursuits. The old man who had sent him, however, (and others too) knew whether or not he had been successful. A successful quest was followed by a change in manner, queer actions and sometimes illness. The child who had not found a spirit was sent again after a short interval, sometimes to the same place, sometimes to another. This continued until success was achieved or puberty was reached. Sometimes dozens of vigils were kept before a guardian was obtained. As a boy neared puberty his desire to be successful in the quest greatly increased for he realized more and more the importance of possession of a supernatural sponsor. This, and the physiological changes accompanying puberty, adequately account for the fact that most spirits were found near the time of puberty.

The successful experience involved a vision or a dream. The dream was usually interpreted as a vision. I feel that the majority of experiences were actually dream phenomena. The frequency of sleeping during the vigils would naturally give rise to this. The natives speak of the experience as being "like a dream." The visionary "thought he had been asleep." Since they were not supposed to sleep while on the quest it is understandable that they did not say it was a dream experienced in sleep. The vision usually involved meeting a spirit in the guise of a human being. A conversation followed in which the spirit revealed its true identity and told the child that when he reached adulthood he would be capable of doing certain things. The spirit customarily added that in times of trouble it would aid and guard him. General powers were conferred, such as gambling skill, but also specific talents were granted, for instance skill in the stick game. Immunities were conferred; the novice was, for example, told that he need not fear arrow wounds. The message of the spirit was sometimes expressed figuratively or symbolically. If a person were told that he was to be a cloud it meant that he would be able to bring rain in times of drought. Or if told that he would be a stone it was interpreted to mean that he could not be injured. Before leaving, the spirit gave its charge a song, one entirely new and unique. While departing, it changed to its true form. The boy then "awoke" with the song running through his mind.

John Tom's parents often sent him down along the river at night while he was a young boy. He did not know what he was to do on these ventures. He wandered aimlessly along the banks of the river. One evening he met a handsome young fellow who spoke to him and asked him where he was going. John Tom

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answered that he did not know. The stranger said, "Well, you had better listen to me. I'm not a friend of yours now but I will be. I'm not who you think I am. I'm going to tell you something. When you grow up you will be lucky. If you take something from someone else you will not be caught. You will be able to get food easily. You will be favored by the women. You will be sharp-eyed. You will be able to see (know) what is going on at night. When you are in danger I will warn you." He gave him a song and left. It was Wood Rat. 159 787

Bear, when a boy, was seeking a spirit. He saw someone sitting on the top of a mound of earth. It was Cricket. Cricket said, "You see, I am sitting on top of a mountain. With one leap I'll jump down to the valley below. Then I'll spit blood. You will do the same thing." Cricket jumped down and continued, "Now whenever you get hurt, you can let out blood also, and it will cure you."

Another boy met Eel. Eel said, "When you grow up you will be able to swim long distances under water. You can dive down on one side of a lake and come up on the other."

At another time Bear was seeking a spirit on the shore of a lake. He came upon a dead horse. The Horse said to him, "You see, all of the trails lead to this lake. All of the animals come here to feed upon me. The birds do the same. See all of the feathers they have dropped around me. All of that is my property. When you are a man you will have the same luck."

A lad on a quest met Magpie who said, "My nest is built high in a tree. It is of brush. Once my enemies were shooting arrows at me. But the arrows went right through the nest and didn't hurt me. It will be the same with you." Then the boy saw Flint Rock. He said, "Arrows and bullets can hit me but they don't go through me. It will be that way with you." Then he saw Grizzly Bear. "You will be like me," Grizzly Bear said; "strong, brave and quick tempered." So he got three powers at one time.

A boy sent to play the stick game usually received gambling power if he were successful in his quest. After playing a while, the rocks which represented the other players assumed human forms and, after asking what he was doing, proceeded to play with him. Later one spoke, gave the boy power and a song, and once more became rock. 787

The lad who properly carried out the instructions for diving was supposed to find a large house far below the surface. This is suggestive of the coast belief in spirits that lived like men in houses under the water. But what happened after the house was discovered I could not learn for none of my informants had had such an experience or knew of anyone who had. It was simply one of the traditional forms. There may have been others of similar nature but they were not common.

It was not always necessary to go in search of a spirit in order that one might be obtained. They often appeared when least expected. The case of a crippled girl is illustrative. She had never been out of sight of her house, so difficult it was for her to get around. Once while she was alone there appeared a handsome young man with a green hat. It was Mallard Duck. He told the girl that she would be

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able to bring the warm spring winds (Chinook wind) at the end of the winter, and gave her a song to use. Years later she sang the song and the winds came when no one else had been able to bring them. 787

Shamanistic power was obtained in exactly the same manner and from the same spirits as other kinds of power. Any of the strong tutelaries were capable of bestowing shamanistic talents. The only difference between a vision presaging a shamanistic future and any other was in the message and the song. 756 787

John Tom's first shamanistic vision came when he was wandering along the Columbia river one evening. He was not more than eight years old. He came upon a stranger who spoke to him. "I'm going to give you some advice," he said. "You will grow up. Then, whenever you hear that anyone wants a doctor, or when anyone is sick, go to see him. Always remember me and you can make him well. Also, when you are in trouble think of me and you will be all right. Now I am through with you. You can go back home." Then the stranger flew away. It was tsu'pula, a small black bird. 159 756 787

Some time later John Tom met another stranger in a similar fashion. It was Badger. Badger said, "You will be a great doctor. If other doctors fight you (test your power) you will always win. When you need help think of me and I will fight your battles for you underground. And you will be liked by women, too."

At still another time John Tom was traveling alone along the river. He reached a rapids. There he saw driftwood floating down. The Driftwood spoke: "Watch me. I'm just drifting by." Then Driftwood gave John a song to use when curing, and a name. The name, which he did not begin to use until late in life, was xwiwi'lx^{a}, "drifting by."

Once while playing on the river bank John Tom saw a large, very white rock. It spoke to him: "When you become a man you will doctor people." It also gave him a song and a name, t'aptcani'tk^{a}, "resting on the banks."

A final guardian spirit experience came to Tom while he was traveling far from the river. He came upon an upturned canoe. On the bottom of the canoe was a piece of rock containing mica. Above the canoe, suspended in mid-air was an insect. The insect was Cricket. Cricket was singing: "The canoe is sick. The rock is the sickness of the canoe. I am going to take away the sickness and make the canoe well." Then Cricket lit upon the rock. "The rock is just like fire. I am going to take it right out of the middle (of the canoe)." Cricket bit the rock, jumped aside with it, and addressed Tom. "When you become a man you can do the same thing. You can take out sickness and cure people." The Cricket flew away.

John Tom, with his six guardian spirits and at least one spirit-ghost power, became the greatest of all Sanpoil shamans. Tom was an exceptional case, but many of his fellows possessed two or three spirits. Shamans quite consistently had more tutelaries than those who followed other pursuits. It may be that the acquisition of one shamanistic spirit spurred its recipient on to further attempts. But further attempts on the part of those who had had initial experiences of other sorts were very common, too.

A brief statement made by John Tom suggests that the lad sent out by an old man sometimes received the song and power of the latter. This depended upon the old man's "willing" that such should be the case. The child did not know from whom the power had come. This must not be construed as inheritance. 787

601 The term castēm, directly correlated
768 with the functioning of the levirate and sor-
orate, is applied to wife's sister, woman's
587 sister's husband, husband's brother, man's
brother's wife.

Parents-in-law use a reciprocal term,
601 which is also applied to the parents-in-law
of any relative. The concept of relatives-
602 in-law living in the same house and rela-
tives-in-law living apart is expressed in
592 two terms. This is a reflection in the kin-
ship system of the normal composition of the
household. Relatives-in-law are frequently
inmates of the same communal house.

VILLAGE COMPOSITION

601 In the village in which Lucy Joe lived,
near Kartaro, there were five house sites.
621 She does not remember all the inmates of the
houses, but all were in some way related to
159 her. KEłpūqtsī'nEkin, the head of one house-
hold, was no relation, therefore was not
called by a kinship term but his wife, who
was a Kartar woman named sōqapkEna'lūks, was
the cousin of Lucy Joe's mother, so Lucy Joe
called her aunt (swawa'sa). Lucy Joe called
this woman's daughters "sister" (łkī'ka).

In another long house lived nmaswi'st,
Michel Brooks' father, who was her first
cross cousin. He was married to tsūmatē'-
lūqs, a Konkonelp woman.

621 Lucy Joe's paternal grandmother, qwałk-
Enma'lūxs, was a Konkonelp woman and her pa-
159 ternal grandfather was from Nespelem. Qwałk-
Enma'lūxs used to give food away to all the
neighbors at the founding of the new winter
village each year. This is no longer done,
but people say to Lucy Joe, "Your name is

621 qwaikEnma'lūxs. When are you going to give things away to start the village?"

159 Lucy Joe's father was a Northern Okanagon, her mother Sanpoil. She herself, having lived much of her life at Kartaro is considered a Kartar. She has lived in Konkonelp and Nespelem territory also. She was born between Kartaro and Nespelem when her family was travelling.

Julie Josephine and Lucy Joe are first cross cousins. Julie Josephine as a little girl lived for two winters in a village between Kartaro and Lake Omak. Then her parents decided to move to Sqwint in Konkonelp territory and lived there for two winters. Wherever they went, they stayed for several winters and then moved on. Most of their winter homes were in Kartar territory, however, so Julie Josephine is a Kartar. Her maternal grandfather, sī'pa's, was a Kartar. Her maternal grandmother was Konkonelp. Her paternal grandfather was Tukoratum, and her paternal great grandmother was Konkonelp.

At one time, Julie Josephine lived in the same village as Lucy Joe. Her family lived on the east side of the creek in a long house with three fires in it. This was next to Lucy Joe's house, but nearer the creek. On the west side was a very long house belonging to the chief swipqe'n, where the people danced.

At this village, kEipūqtse'nixEn was village announcer and whipped the children when the village was completed each year. He switched the children severely until they yelled, before pushing them away. Julie
[881] Josephine was never a sisixō'mxax, that is, a girl undergoing puberty rites; girls' puberty rites have not been observed in the last eighty years, so since she did not put her hair up she was not called pu'xpu'x [?].

INHERITANCE AND PROPERTY

423 Food sites and tribal territory theoretically belong to the tribe, but all friend-
[619] ly tribes are welcome to share the hunting, fishing and food gathering sites at any time.
422 All other property is strictly personal. Husband and wife do not have common possessions. Even stored food is not a common possession. It belongs to the woman and is hers to barter away as she sees fit.

428 There are three types of inheritable properties: material possessions, personal names, and power. At death, a near relative of the deceased takes the material property and distributes it as he sees fit during the period of mourning. At the death of a married man who has a brother, the latter usually gives away the property. This may be one result of the functioning of the levirate. It was said a chief would so function for

the religion of its elders. 000 597

Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of sXEXEwilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqōllēū. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora'tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women. 159 221 857

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cūnī'na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkūmkūmā'swūltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaē'lūx and up to Enasxwūē'nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

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more. They were afraid in those days.

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857

One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

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Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kalĭ't'aman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After one man tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō'ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō'ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

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169 221 857 the bones, the men could not catch any more salmon. The next day the men built corrals behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsüwi'st^{n}.

785 861 881 When a boy's voice changed, his father sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

wives or his female relatives.

If a man died it was expected that his wife would marry one of his brothers or cousins, which one being settled by them in consultation. Should she marry one of them, or an outsider, without consulting them all, a feud was said to result. Johnnie considered her marriage to one of the brothers so obligatory that the heir had merely to enter her house, after the mourning period, and lean his weapons against the wall. Others of the informants said that very often she did not make this marriage at all. In that case all her formal connections with the family of her former husband were severed. On the death of a wife, a man was expected to marry her sister, according to Suszen. If he did not, her parents might be angry and take away his power in order to kill him. Michel said it was not compulsory. It was unthinkable that the widow should marry her deceased husband's father or son: of the latter it was said, "That would be just like marrying his mother."

Lucy Joe's statement concerning the levirate deserves quotation in full. "If a man died and left two wives, each would remarry. The dead man's brother might marry one, but he did not have to. Some people waited a long time before remarrying; some did not. A woman was supposed to 'take pity on her mother-in-law' and not marry right away. After the husband's death a woman's mother-in-law would continue to give things to her, feeding the children, and the like. About a year afterward, she would tell her daughter-in-law, 'Well, from now on you can do as you please.' The woman would select a husband for herself."

Cecile was married to Lucy Joe's son. When he died, Lucy Joe told Michel (who was Cecile's "brother-in-law," actually her cousin), "You had better take care of Cecile." So they married. Now when Cecile revisits Lucy Joe, the older woman is pleased. But if Cecile had not wanted to marry Michel, Lucy Joe would not have objected.

The nature of marital relations is shown in the following account of Mary Carden's first marriage.

Mary's brother was married to k'alōp'kEn's sister. When her brother died her people wanted her to marry k'alōpa'kEn to keep the families together. She did not want to marry him because he already had two wives. But her people begged her to marry him so she could take care of her brother's children. This man and one of his wives and children, together with his sister and her children, lived at Omak with the grandmother, his mother.

Finally, in the fall when she was twenty, Mary decided she would. K'alōpa'kEn had come to Mary's house during these two years and stayed weeks at a time, trying to get her to say "Yes." They were all camped at Malott catching salmon when she decided

to marry him. K'alōpa'kEn was there, but with neither of his wives. So he lived with Mary at her people's house until the end of the salmon run. K'alōpa'kEn gave two horses to her father and two horses to her mother's brother. A gift was often given to a mother's brother when marrying his niece. A little later in the fall, her father and uncle each gave k'alōpa'kEn one horse. 159 595

After the salmon run, they returned to live with his mother in a log house. They were sk'ūnqwūnẓEp people. K'alōpa'kEn was good-looking, wealthy, and well thought of. Wherever he went he did not take his wives along, because people would always give him a woman. He lived with his wives one at a time, that is, whenever they were not angry with him. He would always have one of them at his mother's house to take care of her, since she was blind. His wives would tire of that.

In October, Mary and he went down to the Columbia to get salmon. Then they stayed a month with Mary's people near the mouth of the Okanogan. Then they went back to Omak and stayed there until the next summer. Mary was going to have a baby, so she went home alone. She stayed home two months and then returned to Omak.

Mary lived with him about ten years and had five children, three of whom died while young. K'alōpa'kEn had left his first wife entirely when he married Mary. But he continued stopping at Kartaro and staying with his second wife a few days when he went that way.

Mary knew this woman. Sometimes she was all right, but again she would get angry and cause trouble because k'alōpa'kEn would give the best of everything to Mary.

Once he brought his second wife to live with them, because it was too lonesome for her at Kartaro. Mary told him that if he did this she would leave him. So when they were moving after this, she left his pack horses with his things and started home to her people. They were separated from June till late that fall. Mary took the children with her.

When she got back from picking hops on the coast, he was at snEkEkūmcI'n waiting for her. He had left his second wife in the middle of the summer: it was permanent this time. They had been married about six years when this happened.

K'alōpa'kEn was killed and burned at Okanogan. It was never known who did it. Mary stayed on at Omak six months, then she went home. K'alōpa'kEn was always good to Mary except when his second wife caused trouble.

Household Arrangement

If a man had only one wife they lived either with his or her parents, or moved 591

P.117(B)

night on his quest. He could imprison another's power in this rocky cavern. When other shamans gave him threatening looks, his power backed up into the cave and the rock closed over it. He said as he danced, "Nothing can touch me or injure me; my power even swallows the sun." The listeners then knew that he referred to the hole in the rock. 789 791

When a salmon weir was being made, some jealous person might hide nearby and use his power to scare the salmon away. A shaman might detect him and overcome the power of the offender by his own. Sometimes two shamans coöperated to defend the weir. Suszen said that such contests over the bewitchment of salmon weirs often ended fatally for one or more of the shamans involved. The great public importance of the weir made them especially serious.

In Suszen's cosmogonic myth, the "creatures" had power contests among themselves while they were making laws for future mankind.

Suszen supplied the following description of a power-killing process which he said might be undertaken before many spectators at the winter dance. Some doubt is cast on the actual provenance of the trait by its close similarity to the method by which the Blackfoot, in Suszan's story about Sulktasku'sum, destroyed the power of that hero.[1]

The shamans placed a flat basketry tray in a cavity in the wall of the house. Having spread in this tray a layer of bird-down, with three parallel rows of woodpecker feathers standing erect in the down, they put out the fires and left the room in total darkness. No one spoke above a whisper. When the power arrived, the feathers moved. The officiating shaman then took it in his hands and placed it in a wooden bowl or basket of water, over which he placed a cover. Having listened to its song and determined its identity, he removed the cover and, spreading his hands over the bowl, looked at the power from beneath them. He then lifted it out, holding his hands about three inches apart, and another man cut it to pieces with a knife. The bystanders could not see it, but they could see its blood drip from the shaman's hands into the vessel of water. This water was finally poured into the fire to insure the power's destruction.

Suszen's story of Sulktasku'sum and the Blackfoot deserves to be quoted in full. Sulktasku'sum, Suszen's mother's grandfather, was a very successful warrior, who used to go to the Blackfoot country every year after the fall run of salmon to hunt buffalo and to trade with the Plains tribes. 159 ●

Sulktasku'sum was born at Moses Coulee, where he was brought up. He married there

p.155(B) [1] [For footnote see p. 155(c), category 116. -- Analyst]

159 and lived there with his people. There were horses then, but he was poor and had none. He had a little boy. They decided to move, so he and his wife carried their things in packs on their backs and his little boy sat on top of his pack. Coming over a hill, he felt queer, like a horse. So he bucked like a horse and his little boy fell off. Every body laughed at him.

Two years later they decided to go to the buffalo country. There he met the Blackfoot hunters. They motioned for a smoke and the Blackfoot agreed. They traded goods there on the prairie. Sulktasku'sum had a white horse which he wanted to trade for a Blackfoot horse. They talked sign language. The next day, Sulktasku'sum and his seven-year-old boy went alone to the Blackfoot camp to trade at the invitation of the day before. The inviter had not told the Blackfoot camp that Sulktasku'sum was coming. A Blackfoot watcher saw them coming and the camp attacked him, chased him, and shot him.

Finally the Blackfoot chief, whose feathers looked good, came close and tried to catch Sulktasku'sum's horse with his hand. Sulktasku'sum shot the chief with his gun and killed him. He was surrounded by Blackfoot, but they were amazed that their chief, who had never been shot before, was killed by this stranger. Farther on, he dismounted, poured his bullets on the ground, held his horse at the end of a hair rope while the horse ran around him in a circle, and Sulktasku'sum fought with them.

The seven-year-old boy, who had gone ahead, reached camp and told about his father back there fighting. Sulktasku'sum's people went to his rescue. He was wearing a red shirt. It was all torn by bullets, but the bullets never touched his flesh and when he pulled the shirt-tails out, the bullets fell on the ground from underneath. That was his power: like the rock. He was not a chief then.

He got his power when a small boy. Once he saw some boys shooting with bows and arrows at a magpie nest. Magpie nests are strong: arrows will not go through them. When the boys went away, Magpie told little Sulktasku'sum that he would have magpie power, never to get hurt from bullets.

So his people thought he had good enough power to be a chief.

They used to go every year after the salmon run in the fall to the Blackfoot country. They stayed there till the middle or end of winter before returning. After this, the Blackfoot were enemies.

When the Blackfoot danced in the winter their doctors tried to find what Sulktasku'sum's power was, so they could kill him easily. They saw his power sometimes but could not catch it. Finally an old woman told them that they should put feathers in a hole in the wall and when his power came they

159 should cover it up and put it in a basket of water and talk about what to do with it. The old woman said, "My power told me we have to put bullets with the feathers, not pretty girls: he doesn't care about them nor good clothes." So Sulktasku'sum's power went right there and was caught. The Blackfoot knew then what his power was. They cut it all to pieces and killed his power.

The next summer when Sulktasku'sum went there, they had a fight with the Blackfoot. He had one arm shot off. His people said, "Let's go." He said, "I've fought a long time. I will fight until I die." His people left him. The land there is level. His people watched him from a long distance. Soon his leg was shot and broken. Finally he was out of bullets. The Blackfoot cut off his head, his arms, his legs, and his flesh. They did a dance there.

In the evening the Blackfoot left. Sulktasku'sum's people went there and saw him all cut up. His guts moved around until the next day, before they stopped. The Blackfoot danced until his guts stopped moving. Then their doctor said, "He is dead." After that Moses Columbia did not go to the buffalo country because they had no good leader. There were white people at Portland in those days, but the fort had not been built at the mouth of the Okanogan then.

Though this story is not entirely clear, especially as to the way in which bullets were used, it may have some value as an Okanagon's conception of a native hero and of Blackfoot shamanism.

754 In the old days shamans often bewitched people of whom they were jealous, or who refused to give them what they had demanded, such as food. The night following the provocation, the offender's child or wife might become ill and die within a short time. Just before death, the victim was possessed by the shaman, who might say through the victim's mouth, "If you had given me the food I asked for, this would not have happened." A stronger shaman could avert the death if he could "draw out the sickness." After extracting it he held it in his hands and asked the bystanders, "What shall I do with it?" Then he threw it into the fire, and the shaman who had caused the sickness died, while the victim recovered.

Cecile gave the following account: she had known the characters in the story. Joe Leo's mother, Suzanne, had grizzly power, one of the strongest of all. She also had other powers. If anybody got hurt, she could save him. Once, when at Okanogan, she was out of whiskey. There she met a woman from Nespelem, rich and handsome, with gold teeth. Both women were on horseback. Suzanne said to the Nespelem woman, "Give me a little drink. I'm all out of booze." But the other replied, "I don't drink with people like you. I drink with my own kind of people. I'm rich, and I'm good-looking besides. I don't drink with poor people like you."

himself had been to purgatory to do penance for his sins, and that, like the Lord, he had returned to life to teach mankind. At one time he told them that the end of the world would come ten days later, or if not then, in eight years. He advised them to build a long house for nightly congregations, and warned them that if they did not know how to pray when doomsday arrived they would turn into birds, rocks, and other non-human things. They were very frightened and obeyed him implicitly. Their anxiety was increased by the loss of a girl who had run away from fright at the time of the earthquake and had not since been seen. 787 792 776

As disciples qwElaskEn chose seven young men and seven young women. At night he taught them prayers and songs — prayers somewhat like modern Catholic prayers; wordless songs which resembled Catholic hymns — so that they could teach them to others during the day. Every night these fourteen disciples carried torches of pitch pine when they accompanied the master to the big house. 792 159

One of the seven females, a "real tough girl," fell in love with him (he was very "nice looking"), and he told her that unless she came to live with him she would go to hell when she died. She came and lived with him.

God had said to him, "If you want to come to me, make up your mind and you will soon die. But if you do not want to come, you will live longer." qwElaskEn had, however, added something immoral to this dream: he told all the young girls that if they believed his doctrine they would accompany him to God. They believed, and he had intercourse with them, shocking the people deeply. On one occasion, when a maiden had refused him, he "played dead," being able to live by breathing very little, and thus lured her to his house, where he lay with her. But these girls outlived him in spite of his promise.

He commanded the people to buy hatchets and axes, to cut timber, and to build a large boat at Whitestone on the Columbia. They were afraid, so they did as he ordered. Some even went to Walla Walla to buy ripsaws for this work. The laborers suffered

792 badly for lack of food and many died. He as-
159 signed various parts of the construction to groups of men, and appointed a policeman to stand over them and keep order. Someone had an argument with this overseer and killed him.

This angered Chief Moses and he reported the affair to the Government officials, who arrested qwElaskEn and took him to Washington, D. C., for six or seven years. They did not release him till he had promised to give up his strange religion. By this time the Indians knew that he was a fraud, and when he returned they did not honor him any more.

787 Another dreamer of about this time was
792 sūIpEqēn, the last chief of the Kartar
177 band.[1] A few years before the priests came into the region, sūIpEqēn dreamed that they would arrive and that the Indians would receive money from the Government. At that
159 time Lucy Joe's people began to pray, to use the sign of the cross, to sing religious songs of the Dream dance type, to believe in the resurrection of the dead, and to leave their children unburied for three days after death. SūIpEqēn did not prophesy the coming of the whites, since they had already been seen in the district, but he told the Indians that the people who were coming to teach them were white men, and warned them not to let the priests baptize them, since the priests were "only after money." That is why the mission found it so difficult to make converts here. He introduced a form of prayer which was incorporated specifically in the first fruit rites.[2] SūIpEqēn, like qwElaskEn, also seduced maidens. He died at Riverside about a year after he moved away from Kartaro and his band never had another chief.

171 Something of the same sort of Dream
792 dance must have occurred among the Northern Okanagon. David Isaac remarked on a man who, after the whites had arrived, decorated his moccasins with red flannel and went among the tribes leading a religious revival and seducing young girls. He was shot at Cariboo. His followers from Douglas Lake went north and avenged him. They captured a girl at Cariboo and brought her back to "use as a wife."

177 These accounts suggest that the Dream
796 dance complex may not have taken form among the Southern Okanagon until about 1870. It involved three main conceptions: falling stars (see below), earthquakes, and other strange happenings in nature portended the destruction of the world; certain prophets, having communicated with God in their dreams or having gone to the land of the dead and returned, predicted doomsday when they would rejoin the dead, and preached a more right-

1/2 [For footnotes, see p. 174 (c), category 116. -- Analyst]

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

DIVISIONS AND BANDS

I did not try to get a list of former Columbia Salish and Wenatchi bands, but no doubt these tribes were composed of a number of loosely connected bands (possibly grouped into divisions) with headquarters in different localities. Some of the Columbia divisions or bands were as follows: 621 131

1. The .nkeē'us or .s.nkeiē'usoẋ of Umatilla valley.
2. The Stia'kɛtɛmuẋ or Tiā'kɛtuẋ[15] at the mouth and the lower part of Yakima River, and in the Columbia valley some distance above and below.
3. The Stata'kɛtuẋ,[16] with headquarters around White Bluffs on the Columbia.
4. The .tskowā'xtsɛnuẋ or .skowa'xtsɛnɛx[17] of Priest's Rapids and neighborhood. The band now called Moses-Columbia represents these people, and in fact consists of the remnants of all the Columbia who inhabited the Columbia Valley and east side of Columbia River. Most of them are by origin Priest's Rapids people. They are named after Moses,[18] their late celebrated chief. After the introduction of the horse, this band became famous as horsemen, warriors, and buffalo-hunters.

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[15] This term may possibly have a wider meaning, and may include all the bands along the Columbia, below Priest's Rapids. The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchɛn or .niā'qɛtcɛn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. The term is said to have been applied to Salish or Columbia speaking bands, but in later days probably included Yakima bands who superseded them. This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812. He describes them as scantily clad, using mantles of skins of animals, and sometimes pairs of sleeves of wolf skins. He further states, "Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, and hollowed out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon-trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla." These people differed very much from the Sciatogas and Tus-che-pas whom Hunt had met just previously on the upper Umatilla (probably the Cayuse and allied tribes). These Akai-chie were possibly a part of the Columbia tribe still inhabiting the lower Umatilla and neighboring parts of the Columbia River at that date (see Irving's *Astoria*, ch. XXXVII; also *Handbook of American Indians*, p. 32). The suffix -tcɛn in .nia'kɛtcɛn means, no doubt, shore (banks of a river or lake or a valley). The root part of the word is evidently iā'k, which seems to be the same as occurs in iākɛma and stia'kɛt, etc. 101 105

[16] Possibly the same name as No. 2.

[17] This term possibly has a wider meaning (see p. 90).

[18] Chief Moses was the best-known and most celebrated chief in his time in eastern Washington. He was over six feet tall, very straight, and weighed in later life, when he had become rather stout, about three hundred pounds. He possessed great influence over all the neighboring tribes and was noted for his wisdom and power of oratory. He was also a great linguist, speaking all the Salish dialects, several of the Shahaptian, and some of the Plains languages. His father, Skate'lko, was also a remarkable chief. He was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot. Moses died an old man, about 1905-06, and was buried at Nespilem, on the Colville Reservation, close to where Chief Joseph was buried in 1904. Mr. McCrossan, former agent at Nespilem, who knew both chiefs well, was of the opinion that Chief Moses was really the greater chief of the two, at least in most respects. He also wielded most power among the Indians, and his word received most attention. 159 622

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
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The Indian names were given for the places or rivers. This old territory of the Columbia,[87] he said, embraced all the country east of the Cascades occupied by Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous. He understood that this included all the Yakima River country, the Palouse River, and the Snake below the Palouse. All the Umatilla country was also claimed by the Columbia, some of whom considered it their oldest headquarters. He did not remember that they said anything of the Wallawalla, but inferred that that region was held by them also.[88] They claimed the Klickitat, Yakima, and Palous were intruders, who had pushed them out or taken possession of their country, and settled down in it. Probably the Wallawalla and Cayuse should be included in the same category, but he did not remember their speaking specially of them. It seems that this invasion took place without any great or prolonged war. Some of the Columbia occasionally fought with the intruders, but others were friendly, and intermarried with them. The Columbia Salish are vague, or do not remember much regarding how the invasion took place, but evidently remember best the fact that certain territory once belonging to them is now occupied by others.

The original home of the Klickitat and Yakima, he learned, was south of the Columbia River, a considerable distance back. Not many years after the arrival of these people among the Columbia Salish, some kind of a plague spread up Columbia River, killing off many of the tribe living between The Dalles and Priest's Rapids. The strangers, most of whom, it seems, lived chiefly in the mountains, or at least a little back from the main river, were not decimated by it. Some remnants of the Columbia moved farther north, among other bands of the tribe; while others who remained became lost or absorbed by the intruding tribes. After this the Columbia valley from The Dalles east was inhabited by people speaking the Yakima language.

So much from McCrossan.

I obtained the following information from Michel Revais[89] regarding

[87] Probably includes Wenatchi.

[88] Revais had an impression that the early inhabitants of the Wallawalla region were Cayuse, who also lived on the Tucannon and Umatilla.

[89] Michel Revais was official interpreter at Jocko when I was there in 1909. He had then been in the position thirty-five years. His grandfather was François Revais, a French Canadian, who left home when twelve years of age, and settled in St. Louis. When twenty-five years old, he came north, and later entered the employment of the Hudson Bay Company as a clerk. He married a woman half Pend d'Oreille and half Flathead (of part Tunâ'xe descent, belonging to the family of the head chief of the Pend d'Oreilles). His son was Antoine Revais (Michel's father), who married a Kalispel. Michel was thus half Kalispel, one-quarter French, one-eighth Pend d'Oreille (with a dash of Tunâ'xe), and one-eighth Flathead. His father was an employee of the Company most of his life, and was attached for a time to Fort Colville. He moved to Oregon in 1833. Michel, if I remember aright, was born about 1829 or 1830, or at least before his father moved there, and was raised among the employees of the Company near or at Fort Vancouver, and had some schooling there. When very young, he began to work for the Company, and continued to do so, for the most part, until he settled on the reservation at Jocko. For many years he worked with the Colville Brigade, also made a number of trips with the California Brigade, and I think once with the Shoshoni Brigade. Before going to Jocko, he had made his headquarters chiefly at Colville. In 1857, possibly 1856, he made a trip to Thompson River with some former employees of the Company in search of gold. In 1862 (?) he again went north to the Thompson and Shuswap, going as far as La Fontaine, and returning by way of Kamloops and Okanagon. I found Revais well

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
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Columbia Salish territory and movements of tribes. It was generally understood or believed, by the early traders and people of the Hudson Bay Company, that Moses' people (the Columbia) had occupied most of the Columbia valley above The Dalles in early times, before the first whites came; and Moses' people themselves asserted this. It was also believed that the Yakima country, or the greater part of it, had been in possession of the same people. Either Moses' people, or the Wenatchi, it is said, were still living in the western part of the Yakima country, near the mountains west of the Yakima, and about the head of Klickitat River, as late perhaps as 1830. Other smaller isolated bands of th se people were reported to be living in other parts of the Yakima country, among or near the Yakima, at a much later date.

The Yakima-speaking people were considered to be intruders from south of the Columbia, probably driven north by the Snake. Some of them, such as the Yakima, had obtained a settled home; while others, such as the Klickitat, had no proper home. They had really no country of their own, and travelled to and fro on the north side of the Columbia in the countries of the Tenino, Wishram, Yakima and Cowlitz. They were said to have come from the Tenino or Tyighpam country originally. The Tenino of Columbia River were Tyighpam who had settled there, and they were called Tyighpam, and sometimes Klickitat. The name Tenino was not used long ago; at least, not as a tribal name. Tyighpam also lived in the country south, about two days' journey of a pack-train, back of the Wasco or Upper Chinook, from east of The Dalles to a considerable distance west of Hood River and the Cascades. Some of them were also on the Deschutes, White, and Tygh Rivers; but much of this country belonged to Molala long ago.

It was said that the latter once occupied all the Warm Springs and Deschutes country where the Tyighpam now live, but that they were driven out of there probably by Snake. Their country seems to have been on both sides of the mountains, for a number of them lived in the country east of the Willamette, south of French Prairie, and east and south of Oregon City. The boundary between them and the Kalapuya was considered to be on a line almost due south (perhaps a little east of south) of Oregon City. It was claimed that they extended along the mountains at one time, south to the Klamath. The Kalapuya and Yā'mhīl occupied the country west of the Molala, from Willamette Falls south, including the Yamhill River, and practically all the upper Willamette to beyond the Kalapuya Mountains on the

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[illegible] on most matters concerning the various interior Salish tribes and their neighbors. He had been in the country of almost every tribe in the region between the Cascades and Rockies, from British Columbia down into California, and in some places west and east of those ranges. He spoke French, English, Chinook jargon, sign language, Flathead, Okanagon, and Columbia, and could talk and understand a little of the Thompson, Shuswap, some of the Shahaptian dialects, and others. He had a very retentive memory concerning almost all he had seen and heard, names of persons, places, and dates. He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge concerning persons, and incidents in the lives of fur-traders, and could name and describe all the officers and employees of the Company at and near Fort Vancouver when he was a boy, tell whom they married and all about their children. He would have been a valuable aid to any one writing a history of the old fur-trading days. He was totally blind in 1909, and had been for a number of years.

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Umpqua. Immediately south of them were the 'A'mpɛkwa, on the southern parts of the upper Umpqua River. 167

The Cayuse were said to have come from the upper Grande Ronde originally, or at least they had their headquarters there. About 1850 their headquarters were at Pa'sxa, on a creek at the foot of the mountains south of Wallawalla. At this time they had much intermarried with Wallawalla and Umatilla, and, although much reduced in numbers, were very rich in horses. Some Cayuse-speaking people once lived on the Umatilla and also on the Tucannon. Revais had heard that another kind of people (he thought probably the same as or related to Moses' people) lived somewhere near the mouth of the Palouse; but he had not recollection of having heard Moses' people claim the Umatilla or the Wallawalla valleys. Neither did he know of any Salish tribe called Nekɛtɛmē'uχ having once been in The Dalles region, unless they were part of the Moses' people, who, as already stated, claimed to have extended a long way down the Columbia. The Wasco sometimes laid claim to the country as far east as John Day River, but they never occupied it. The islands in Columbia River between John Day River and the Wallawalla were much used by Wallawalla and Umatilla as fishing-places and for drying salmon about 1849. The traders considered the Wishram and Wasco and all the Upper Chinook to have come originally from the lower river or the coast, as their language was similar to that of the Indians below, and also their dress, manners, and style of living, were similar. 131 101

On the same subject I obtained the following from Peter Kalama.[49] According to tradition current on the Warm Springs Reservation, the Molala formerly occupied all the country where the Warm Springs Reserve is now, and the remains of many of their old lodge-sites may still be seen on the western half of the reserve. These people were driven out of that country by the Snake, who drove them right into the mountains, and later drove them over to the other side, until finally they took refuge on the head of the Siletz River. Molala are said to have been on the upper Hood River also at one time. The Snake also attacked and drove out part of the Kalapuya from the upper Willamette. In early times they also had wars with the Klamath, Modoc, Nez Percé, probably the Wallawalla, and the Wasco and Tyighpam. [72]

The last-named, who appear to have lived at one time somewhere east or southeast of the Molala, were driven north to and within the confines of the Wasco. Some of them settled right among the Wasco, on and near Columbia River, while others spread westerly back of the Upper Chinook as far as Oregon City. The Tyighpam, or Tai'xpam, are the Indians generally called Warm Springs or Simnasho at the present day. The latter name is that of a

[49] Peter Kalama was my interpreter among some of the Coast Salish tribes in 1910. He was then living on the Nisqually reservation. His father was a Kanaka, and his mother Nisqually. He was partly raised and educated at the Government Indian schools in Oregon, and for several years was in the Government service on the Warm Springs Reservation. I found him very intelligent, and generally well informed concerning the Coast Salish of Washington, the tribes of the lower Columbia, and the neighboring tribes of Oregon. He had travelled considerably among various tribes, being a leading man in the Shaker movement. 159 115